present at least in the High Court. On account of the absence of such judges, many hardships were caused to the people as would be evidenced from certain High Court decisions. The number of *Marumakkathayi* judges had at no time in the past been so low as it was. It was imperative that the Government removed the defect at an early date. Further, the inefficient judges of the subordinate courts should be found out during the annual inspections by the High Court Judges and transferred to other departments. It would also be advisable to transfer the control over the Magistracy to the High Court.

As regards the Revenue Department also, it was not desirable to adopt the principle of communal representation. The land tenures in Travancore were complicated. It was therefore necessary to appoint experienced officers fully conversant with the several tenures. Otherwise, the administration of that department would result in utter confusion. If a large number of revenue cases was pending decision, it was partly the result of the policy adopted by the Government in making appointments in the Revenue Department. If communal representation was indispensable, it should be confined to recruitment in the lower ranks ; and only after they had gained experience should they be promoted.

Lastly, in regard to the assignment of *puduval* lands to Messrs. Brooke Bond and Company, the Dewan had stated that "the final verdict will lie with the representatives of the people ". It would be conceded that the representatives of the people were the members of the Assembly. As they had given out their opinion, it was not necessary to wait any longer for ascertaining the wishes of the people.

DEWAN'S REPLY: Mr. Gopala Pillai, your observations on the subject of education generally indicate that you have given the subject close thought. I shall have them all conveyed to the Director of Public Instruction for careful consideration. Similarly too, in regard to the general remarks about the High Court and the administration of justice, I shall place your views before that body for deliberation. I shall now confine my attention to the remarks you made in connection with one or two minor points.

You say that aided schools need a little more scrutiny so as to ensure efficiency all round. You also advocate the making of the subscription to the Provident Fund compulsory. I may mention that there is a file on that subject steadily gaining volume and, I hope, momentum, in the Secretariat.

With regard to the policy of the Government in making appointments to the higher ranks in the Revenue and Judicial Departments, in so far as your views make for the upholding of efficiency and ability, the Government will bear them in mind.

190. Responsible Government for Travancore.

MR. NARAYANA PILLAI VISVANATHA PILLAI (*Member, Quilon taluk, Group I*) spoke about the need for establishing responsible Government in Travancore. The Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy had stated in the Montford Report that responsible government should be established in Indian States. In the Proclamation of 1917, it had also been stated that "Responsible Government is the goal of British administration in India". The need for such government in Indian States had also been advocated by great men such as Sir P. Sivaswami Aiyar, the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar and also in the *Manchester Guardian*, the *London Times* and other leading organs. Recent depositions of rulers in certain Indian States were as a result of irresponsible rule. The above clearly proved the need for responsible government in Indian States. So far as Travancore was concerned, the matter had been urged upon the Government at several sessions of the Assembly. It was not easy for a single individual to carry on the important measures connected with the several departments in the State. That was the reason why there was delay in despatch and execution of business. The Assembly and the Council sessions themselves arrested normal work for about two months of the year. The remaining ten months of the year were too short a period for the successful carrying on of official business. That was one of the chief causes of the failure of the administration of many an able Dewan. Administration by a single Dewan was not therefore satisfactory.

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The policy of appointing foreigners as Dewans was not satisfactory. The majority of the Dewans were recruited from the British service. Naturally, they tried to please the British Government by doing things which were pleasing to the latter but detrimental to Travancore. The Kannan Devan Hills Concession was an instance in point. The question of water rights in the concession area, which was pending for 20 years, had been decided by a compromise. The company was appropriating the royal trees to its own use without permission. The Periyar water was given away for a nominal sum. Dutiable articles were allowed to be imported into Travancore free of duty in return for a nominal compensation of Rs. 30,000 or Rs. 40,000. But for the Interportal Trade Convention, under which the agreement was arrived at, the Government would have derived a revenue of two crores of rupees under the single head of customs. The remission of tea duty was also worth referring to in that connection. While there were natural facilities for a harbour in the Neendakara bar, the then Dewan neglected that and contributed towards the cost of the Cochin Harbour. A harbour in Travancore would have naturally improved the condition of Travancore and provided employment to a large number of people, and the need for an Unemployment Committee would not have arisen. Besides, many foreign Dewans had assigned large areas of land in favour of foreign companies. It was the bitter experience of the past that prompted the people to protest against the Brooke Bond scheme. But there was no cause for anxiety, as the Dewan had stated that the final verdict in the matter would lie with the representatives of the people. But although some foreign Dewans had done acts detrimental to the State, there were others who looked to the welfare of the country and the people. Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, whose statue had been erected on the western side of the Public Offices, was such an honourable exception. The member cherished the hope that the existing Dewan would deserve another statue as the people's Dewan.

In all important States, the administration was controlled not by a single individual but was carried on by a cabinet of Executive Council Members and Ministers. As regards the form of responsible Government to be adopted in Travancore, it would be enough for the time being if the practice in British India be copied. The administration should be in charge of three persons including the Dewan. One of the remaining two should be elected from the Legislative Council and the other from the Assembly. The tenure of office of the members elected by the Council and the Assembly should be for three years and the term of the Assembly should be the same as for the Legislative Council. Departments such as the Army, the Revenue and matters relating to the British Government should be in the charge of the Dewan and the other departments should be divided between the two ministers. All administrative questions should be discussed in the Council composed of the three members. The two ministers so elected should also be the President of the Council and the Assembly respectively. The members of the Assembly should have the right of asking questions and moving resolutions. Standing Committees on finance, roads, sanitation, etc., should also be constituted.

The member then dwelt on some of the principles to be kept in view by the members of the Council. The Dewan should always be a Travancorean. None but Travancoreans should be entertained in service. The practice of importing foreigners as Heads of Departments should be stopped, as qualified men were available in Travancore. If necessary, such men should be trained to work like Europeans. The necessity for spending large amounts on salaries would then disappear. The curricula of studies should be revised so as to include agriculture, industries, etc., within their purview. The vernacular of the State should be encouraged and the pay of the Vernacular School teachers enhanced. Malayalam language should be adopted as far as possible for correspondence, in courts and other public offices. No land should be assigned to non-Travancoreans. All appointments affecting the people and the State should be made only through the Legislative Council.

If the above-said proposals were adopted, the ministers would be responsible to the people for their actions. Party Government would be formed and that would tend to better the tone of administration. The burden of the Dewan would also be eased.

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Lastly, newspapers occupied an important place in all civilised countries. It was the newspapers that discussed the *pros* and *cons* of every public action and brought to the notice of the Government the real effect of every such action. The Newspapers Regulation which was intended to curb the freedom of the Press should therefore be immediately repealed. The tiffin allowance given to newspaper reporters during the Assembly session should also be continued.

DEWAN'S REPLY: Mr. Visvanatha Pillai, your mind has ranged over a spacious field of things that might have been and things that need not have been. And you pointed to heights which make more prudent men giddy with apprehension.

But for all that, we cannot afford to do without the enthusiasm and reformative zeal of youth. I am quite sure that when such zeal and such enthusiasm pervade the country to such an extent as to become a real vital force able to feed upon and assimilate the nutriment which is conducive to political development and when that force thereafter attains maturity of discretion and wisdom and when it is supported by a powerful and strong army of a cultured electorate, I have not the slightest doubt that the necessity will disappear for the members of this Assembly to represent, year in and year out, the need for responsible Government in this country.

Personally, I shall be able to call an hour or so of the day my own if there were others to shoulder the burden of administration with me. But there are burdens which we have to bear alone sometimes for the good of the country; and if the occasion is not yet ripe for the introduction of an Executive Council and Responsible Government as you call them, it is not because there is any unwillingness on the part of the authorities to take the people into their confidence, but it is because the time is not opportune. More than that I cannot say.

191. Need for responsible Government for Travancore.

MR. KANAKKU PADMANABHA PILLAI SANKARA PILLAI (*Member, Karunagapalli taluk, Group II*) said that the need for responsible Government for Travancore had been urged upon the Government for the past eight years through the Assembly and other agencies. In British India, the beginnings of self-government had been started as a consequence of the Royal Proclamation of 1917 and it was no wonder that Travancore which out-rivalled British India in education was pressing for responsible Government. In the report submitted before the introduction of the Montford Reforms, it had been stated that responsible government should be introduced in Indian States as well. Statesmen had also expressed the view that, for the sake of uniformity, such government was necessary in Indian States, especially when India obtained *swaraj*. Among Indian States, Travancore stood in the forefront in modern administration and the time was opportune for establishing responsible government there. His Highness the late Maha Raja had, out of his magnanimity, initiated a liberal educational policy and also established popular institutions such as the Assembly and the Legislative Council with a view to train people in local self-government. But the general administrative policy was not in accordance with the aspirations of the subjects and hence not satisfactory.

Referring to the Assembly, the member said that it was still continued as a body of petitioners or complainants. Dewan Bahadur Mr. Raghaviah appointed a committee to suggest proposals for reforming the Assembly, but, nothing practical came out of it. The Assembly was not a statutory body but was only an assemblage of persons called together by the Government. Neither the voters nor the members had any statutory rights. It was deplorable that, in a period of civilisation and progress, the representatives of the people should be left in such a precarious stage. The member said that none of the prayers made by him and the other members of his taluk during the past six years had been granted by the Government. As a preliminary step towards responsible government, the Assembly, the first popular institution introduced with a view to train people in self-government, should be reformed. The Assembly should have power to discuss all questions of administrative policy.

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